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which he has received, and has so far benefited the community. If by any means it prevents the individual from rising to the position where his talents would place him, an act of positive injustice is committed. Not only the instruction, however, but the whole plan of living in the seminary should be adapted to the future destination of the pupil, and indulgences should not be allowed, which would produce wants not subsequently to be gratified ; such is, in fact, the very system of all properly regulated institutions of this class. That mere theoretical teachers are formed in well-conducted seminaries, is by no means the fact. Every care, on the contrary, is taken to avoid this ; it is true, that general principles are inculcated, in order that routine in teaching may be avoided ; but these principles are constantly applied, and under circumstances where error is sure to be pointed out by the observation of classmates and teachers, and where it can hardly escape correction." — pp. 323 – 327.

ART. III. — *A Discourse on the Aborigines of the Valley of the Ohio ; in which the Opinions of the Conquest of that Valley by the Iroquois or Six Nations in the Seventeenth Century, supported by Cadwallader Colden, of New York, Governor Pownall, of Massachusetts, Dr. Franklin, Hon. De Witt Clinton, of New York, and Judge Haywood, of Tennessee, are examined and contested ; to which are prefixed some Remarks on the Study of History.* Prepared at the Request of the Historical Society of Ohio. By WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, of North Bend. *Ne incognita pro cognitis habeamus.* — Cicero. Cincinnati, Ohio. 1838. 8vo. pp. 51.

THIS pamphlet discusses several important topics in the history of the native tribes of our continent, with spirit and ability. We propose to offer our readers some account of its contents, with a few extracts, as a specimen of the manner in which the subject is treated by the distinguished author. We have no doubt, that they will be generally interested in learning the views of one, whose long official connexion with the Indian tribes, in peace and in war, and whose familiarity with the topography of the region in question, give to his

opinions the authority of observation and experience, as far as they are applicable to the matter in hand. It is a source of real satisfaction, and affords relief under the disgust with which a well regulated mind contemplates the ferocity of our party contests, to find an individual, situated like the author of this essay, devoting a portion of his time and his pen to the calm consideration of a subject, whose interest is purely historical. There are certainly but few individuals, whose life, from early youth, has been passed in the arduous active service of the field, and in maturer years amidst the labors and cares of high and responsible official station, who could sustain with more credit a discussion like that contained in the pages under review.

The pamphlet begins with some remarks on the importance of the study of history, and the causes of its neglect. The following extract will afford a sufficient indication of General Harrison's views on this subject.

“ It is in youth, and in early youth, that the seeds of that patriotism must be sown, which is to continue to bloom through life. No one ever began to be a patriot in advanced age ; that holy fire must be lighted up when the mind is best suited to receive, with enthusiasm, generous and disinterested impressions. If it is not then ‘ the ruling passion ’ of the bosom, it will never be at an age when every action is the result of cool calculation, and the basis of that calculation too often the interest of the individual. This has been the prevailing opinion with every free people throughout every stage of civilization, from the roving savage tribe to the numerous and polished nation, from the barbarous Pelasgi to the glorious era of Miltiades and Cimon, or the more refined and luxurious age of Pericles and Xenophon. By all, the same means were adopted. With all, it was the custom to present to their youth the examples of the heroic achievements of their ancestors, to inspire them with the same ardor of devotion to the welfare of their country. As it regards the argument, it matters not whether the history was written or unwritten, whether in verse or prose, or how communicated ; whether by national annals, to which all had access ; by recitation in solemn assemblies, as at the Olympic and other games of Greece ; in the songs of bards, as amongst the Celts and Scandinavians ; or in the speeches of the aged warriors, as was practised by the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, and other tribes of our own country. Much fiction was, no doubt, passed off on these occasions as real history ; but, as it was believed to be true,

that was sufficient to kindle the spirit of emulation in the cause of patriotism among those to whom these recitations, songs, and speeches were addressed." — p. 4.

After maintaining the superiority of authentic history over works of imagination as a school of patriotic improvement to the young, the author proceeds to the principal subject of his discourse. The first topic which presents itself is, naturally, the great mystery of the primitive population of the North American continent. General Harrison commences the discussion of this topic, with the following observation ;

“ Fifty-five years ago, there was not a Christian inhabitant within the bounds which now compose the State of Ohio. And if, a few years anterior to that period, a traveller had been passing down the magnificent river, which forms our southern boundary, he might not have seen, in its whole course of eleven hundred miles, a single human being, — certainly not a habitation, nor the vestige of one, calculated for the residence of man. He might, indeed, have seen indications that it was not always thus. His eye might have rested upon some stupendous mound, or lengthened lines of ramparts, and traverses of earth still of considerable elevation, which proved that the country had once been possessed by a numerous and laborious people. — But he would have seen, also, indubitable evidences that centuries had passed away, since these remains had been occupied by those for whose use they had been reared. Whilst ruminating upon the causes which had occasioned their removal, he would not fail to arrive at the conclusion, that their departure (if they did depart) must have been a matter of necessity. For no people, in any stage of civilization, would willingly have abandoned *such a country*, endeared to them as it must have been, by long residence and the labor they had bestowed upon it, unless, like the descendants of Abraham, they had fled from the face of a tyrant, and the oppressions of unfeeling task-masters. If they had been made to yield to a more numerous or more gallant people, what country had received the fugitives? and what has become of the conquerors? Had they, too, been forced to fly before a new swarm from some northern or southern hive? Still would the question recur, What had been their fate? And why had so large a portion of a country, so beautiful and inviting, so abounding in all that is desirable in the rudest as well as the most advanced state of society, been left as a haunt for the beasts of the forest, or as an occasional arena for distant savages to mingle in mortal conflicts? To

aid us in coming to any thing like a satisfactory conclusion in answer to those questions, we possess only a solitary recorded fact. For every thing else, we must search amidst the remains which are still before us, for all that we wish to know of the history and character of this ancient and nameless people." — pp. 7, 8.

The "recorded fact," to which allusion is here made, is the migration of the Aztecs from the North, the memory of which is preserved in the pictorial annals of the Mexican race; and this fact unquestionably suggests a possible connexion of the extraordinary works, that are found in the region northwest of the Ohio, with a known race of men, who had attained a degree of civilization competent to the execution of such structures. All beyond this belongs to the region of conjecture.

It is generally admitted, that the mounds, terraces, and other works, of which visible remains exist in many portions of this region, evince a degree of skill, not known to have been possessed by native tribes, which occupied the present territory of the United States of America, at the time of its discovery by the Europeans.* None of the works in question bore the appearance at that time, of being of recent structure. None of the tribes, since their manners and customs began to be noticed by travellers or colonists, have been observed to be in the habit of erecting any similar works, for the purposes of sepulture, castrametation, or agriculture. At the present day, there is not known to be any tribe of the native population of the continent possessed of the numbers, to say nothing of the skill, implied in the construction of these extensive and remarkable works. Nature has borne an unequivocal testimony to their antiquity,

* Mr. Gallatin expresses himself with rather less positiveness on this point, than most other writers have thought it necessary to employ. "There is nothing in their construction," he remarks, "nor in the remnants which they contain, indicative of a *much more* advanced state of civilization, than that of the present inhabitants. But it may be inferred, from their number and size, that they were the work of a more populous nation than any now existing; and, if this inference is correct, it would necessarily imply a state of society, in which greater progress had been made in agriculture." — *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. II. p. 147.

This brings us to the same conclusion as to the diversity of the race, by which the mounds were erected, from that which is now fast hastening to extinction.

in the size and evident age of the forest trees, that are found growing on the summits of these mounds, and within the enclosure and on the sides of these ramparts or terraces.

There are three suppositions by some one of which their existence must be accounted for. They were either constructed by some race of men sufficiently civilized for this purpose, but of whom no historical memorial, nor any other trace remains; and who, by causes of which we are entirely ignorant, have wholly perished; or they were the works of the Aztecs sojourning in this region, before their migration southward to the elevated plains of Anahuac; or, lastly, they were erected by the ancestors of some of the tribes found by the European colonists in this part of the continent, — in which case those tribes are to be regarded as the degenerate and broken-down remains of more improved ancient races.

Of the first supposition nothing more can be said, than that it is a theory by which we give a rational explanation of existing facts; the principal strength of which theory dwells in the assumed impossibility, that these works could have been erected by tribes no more advanced in civilization than the Indians, found in the continent two centuries and a half ago, and in the supposed want of any historical indication pointing to a different origin. It is saying, in other words, that they were made by the art and labor of men, but we know not of what men. Their memory is buried in the depth and silence of the venerable forests, which cover these works of their hands.

The innate propensity of the mind to generalize its ideas has given greater currency to the second supposition. The universal current of the traditions of the Mexicans, and the express testimony of their hieroglyphical annals (if the interpretation can be depended on, which was given in the age of the Spanish conquest, by those who must have been well acquainted with their symbolic characters), point to a descent of the Aztecs from the north, and ascribe to them a progress sufficiently gradual, to admit of the erection of permanent structures by the way. These facts have led the majority of writers to assume the second as the more probable account of the origin of these works. Such is General Harrison's opinion. In conformity with this view of the subject, the name of Aztalan has been appropriated to the remarkable works, which exist in the territory of Wisconsin.

In the following note to the main body of the Discourse, General Harrison weighs some of the considerations pertaining to this curious question ;

“ The circumstances which militate most against the supposition of the identity of the Aztecs, with the authors of the extensive ancient works in Ohio, is the admitted fact, that the latter entered the valley of Anahuac, from the Northwest, that is, from California, which is much out of the direct route from the Ohio to Mexico. A strong argument in favor of it, is the similarity of the remains which are found in that region (California), as well as in Mexico itself, with those in the valley of the Ohio. I am not informed whether there are any such in the intermediate country between the lower Mississippi and California. But if there are none, it will serve rather to confirm and strengthen my opinion, that the fugitives from the Ohio, were, like those from Troy, a mere remnant, whose numbers were too small to erect works of so much labor, as those they had left behind had required; but, after their strength had been increased, by a residence for some time in California, the passion for such works returned with the ability to erect them.

“ The similarity, in point of form and mode of construction, between the works now to be seen in all the countries I have mentioned, (Ohio, Mexico, and California,) proves that they must have been erected by the same, or a kindred people, derived from the same stock, and if the latter, the separation took place *after the custom of such erections had commenced*.

“ If the opinion is adopted, that the Aztecs were never in Ohio, but had pursued the direct route from Asia (whence it is believed they all came) to California, along the coast of the Pacific Ocean, and that the authors of the Ohio erections, were from the same continent and stock, the question may be asked, Where did the separation take place? Was it before they left Asia, or after their arrival upon the American continent? Are there any works similar to those in Ohio, Mexico, and California, to be found in the northeast of Asia, or between the Pacific and the Rocky Mountains, or on the route which that branch of the nation would have pursued, which bent their course towards the valley of the Ohio? If these questions are answered in the negative, it will thus go far to prove that the practice of constructing such works originated in the latter, and that those who erected them were the same people who afterwards sojourned in California, and finally settled in the valley of Anahuac, or Mexico. If we adopt the opinion, that they were totally a distinct people, or were different

branches of the same original Asiatic stock, we must believe also that they each fell into the practice of erecting extensive works, of the same form, and of the same materials, (in a manner not known to be practised by any other people,) without any previous knowledge to guide them, and without any intercourse. This, to say the least of it, is very improbable.

“If the Aztecs were not the authors of the Ohio works, we can only account for the ultimate fate of those who were, by supposing that they were entirely extirpated, preferring, like the devoted Numantians, to be buried under the ruins of their own walls, to seeking safety by an ignominious flight.

“I find no difficulty, from the facts mentioned in the text, in adopting the opinion, that these people were conquered by those who were less civilized than themselves. An enlightened nation, whose military institutions are founded upon scientific principles, and which relies upon its own citizens for protection, will never be subdued by savages, nor by those who have made little progress in civilization. They may be beaten in a battle, indeed in many battles, as was the case with the barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who first broke through the boundaries of the Roman Republic; and in our day and nation, when the northwestern Indians defeated our armies in two successive campaigns, as they had previously done those of Great Britain. But their triumphs will be terminated as soon as the causes which produce them are ascertained, and a change is effected in the plan of operations, or in the mode of forming the troops to meet the exigency, as was the case in the former under the direction of Caius Marius, and in our own under the direction of Anthony Wayne. But it is quite otherwise, with those who have made such small progress in civilization, as to be unable to make war upon fixed and scientific principles. I have assigned to the nameless nation of our valley the character of an agricultural people, and this is precisely the state (without military institutions) in which a nation is most weak, and most easily conquered, by those who still depend upon the chase for food, or who have advanced still further, and draw their subsistence from flocks and herds of their own rearing. The labors of agriculture serve to form the body to endure the toils and hardships incident to a military life. There is something, too, in that kind of employment, which serves to kindle a spirit of independence in the bosom, and nurture the feelings of patriotism. Hence, it has happened, that agricultural nations, which had engrafted a system of military instruction upon the ordinary education of youth, have always been the most renowned in war, and most difficult to be conquered.

“ ‘ Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
Hanc Remus et frater ; sic fortis Etruria crevit,
Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.’ — *Georg*, II. 532.

“ But whilst the occupation of the husbandman furnishes the best materials for making good soldiers, as well from the qualities it imparts to the mind, as the strength and activity which the body receives from constant exercise and nutritive aliment, it teaches nothing of the military art. The hunter, on the contrary, is already a soldier, as far, at least, as individual qualities can make him so. But the pastoral life (not that which the poets have furnished, the pictures drawn from their own imaginations, but that which authentic history describes,) furnishes, not only men suited to war, by their personal qualities, but armies which have acquired, from their congregated mode of life, a degree of discipline, and a knowledge of the most important operations of war. There is nothing in the employment of the agriculturist, or artisan, which bears any resemblance to military duty. The citizens employed in such labor (exclusively) cease to be soldiers, and the agricultural or manufacturing nation, which adopts no system of military instruction for its youth, must depend upon the employment of mercenaries for its protection, or it will become a prey to the first invader. The German or Scythian hordes, which obtained from the fears, or the weakness, of the Roman emperors, settlements within their borders, were unable, after a few years, to resist the new swarms from the same hives, which pressed upon them, and which adhered to their original mode of life and manners. But the most extraordinary instance of the superiority of savages, in war, to an agricultural people who neglect military institutions, is furnished by the history of our own parent Isle, in the application of the Britons for assistance to a Roman emperor, after the abandonment of their Island by troops of the latter. It is impossible for language to convey, at once, a more dastardly spirit, and consciousness of extreme imbecility, than that used by the British deputies, on this occasion. ‘ The Caledonian savages,’ say they, ‘ drive us to the ocean, and the ocean again repels us back upon our enemies.’ ” — pp. 46 – 48.

A new species of evidence, of a very peculiar and satisfactory character, has, since the publication of General Harrison's *Discourse*, been brought forward, to establish the identity of the races of the mounds, with those which had made such advances in civilization, in the more southern portions of the continent. We allude to the resemblance of

the skulls, which have been found in the mounds in the north-western region, to those which have been discovered in similar ancient works in Mexico and Peru. This important comparison was first instituted by Dr. J. C. Warren, of this city. The result of his observations was communicated to the British Association for the advancement of science, at their meeting in Liverpool, in 1837. Dr. Warren stated that he had for some time been a collector of crania from the mounds, and found them to differ from the skulls of the present races of North American Indians. On returning home one day, he found some skulls upon his table, which had been sent to him in his absence, and which he perceived at a glance to bear a strong resemblance to the mound skulls. As such, he supposed them to have been sent him, by some friend in the Western States. He soon discovered, that they were ancient Peruvian skulls, which had been procured for him in South America. Further comparisons satisfied Dr. Warren, of the identity of the tribes that reared the mounds with the Peruvian race.

Mr. Delafield, in his recent "Inquiry into the Origin of the Antiquities of America," referring to these statements of Dr. Warren, observes, that they are fully confirmed by the examinations made by himself.* Dr. Morton, in his recent splendid work on the American skulls, concludes from his extensive comparison of crania, "that the cranial remains, discovered in the mounds from Peru to Wisconsin, belong to the same race, and probably to the Toltec family."†

The third opinion above alluded to is, that the Indian tribes, found by the Europeans on our continent, are to be regarded as the degenerate and broken-down remains of more improved races; the descendants of ancestors more civilized than themselves.

We are not prepared to express a preference of this theory over the others;—on the contrary, in the present state of our knowledge on the subject, we are inclined to hold our minds free for the adoption of any view of the subject, which a larger accumulation of facts may render probable. We will only say, that this last supposition is in no degree inconsistent with probability. A degeneracy of this kind, even on the part of races much further advanced in civilization, than it is

* Delafield's *Inquiry*, p. 16.

† Morton's *Crania Americana*, p. 260.

necessary to suppose the authors of the American mounds and ramparts to have been, is not an uncommon occurrence in the history of the world. A considerable part of Asia, including Egypt, is inhabited by the degenerate descendants of highly cultivated ancestors. Even Greece, — that country, in which physical civilization was carried higher than it has ever been in any other, — has been in after times occupied by a posterity, certainly as little able to conceive or execute the works of Ictinus and Phidias, as the Wyandots or Miamis to construct the mounds of the Muskingum or the Scioto. And yet we must suppose that, for the last eighteen centuries, the civilized population of every part of Europe has been far less exposed to all the causes of degeneracy, than the aboriginal population of this continent, destitute as it was of the art of writing, the great preserver of all other arts. We behold the descendants of that very Mexican or Peruvian population, which is generally supposed to be the race by whom these works were originally constructed, and who are known to have been competent, at the time of the conquest and for several preceding ages, to the erection of structures, more permanent than any of which remains are found in the Northwestern States and territories of our Union, reduced at the present day to a condition, in which they are equally incapable to plan or execute any such works ; — a curious specimen of a native civilization not furthered and improved, but crushed and destroyed, by a more advanced supervening foreign civilization.

In fact, the entire question as to the original settlement of our continent seems destined to baffle the resources of human investigation. To say nothing of the inference fairly to be deduced from the Scriptures, that sound philosophy, which teaches us to prefer the simplest explanations of existing phenomena, bids us look to an emigration from northeastern Asia, as the source of the population of this continent ; and the most judicious writers are disposed, with Humboldt, to date that emigration from the fifth or sixth century of our era ; a period at which it is known, that the nations of northeastern Asia were in extensive agitation and movement. But this solution of the great difficulty is met at the threshold by the popular and pretty obvious objection, that although a lapse of twelve or thirteen centuries is by no means sufficient to destroy all affinity of language between races descended from

the same stock, we find no resemblance whatever, beyond that which may be ascribed to casual coincidence, between the vocabulary of any of the native languages of America and that of any of the languages of the elder continent. Wherever in Europe or Asia we have the means of instituting the comparison, we find the tribes of men exceedingly tenacious of the radical and substantial parts of a language. There is probably no instance in which a vocabulary has wholly disappeared, except where the race speaking it has been wholly destroyed.

We shall, however, by no means escape this difficulty by assuming, with some of the French philosophers of the last century and their disciples, a primitive plurality of the races of man. Apart from the objections to this assumption, which arise from the cosmogony of the Scriptures, and other difficulties which might be stated, this very difficulty of language exists in an unmitigated form. The dialects of the native tribes of North and South America are exceedingly numerous, but are probably capable of being reduced to a small number of families. Of these families, however, Mr. Gallatin, in his masterly treatise on the Indian tribes of North America, has enumerated twenty-nine. Although, in the opinion of Mr. Du Ponceau, which is adopted by Mr. Gallatin, there is a general *polysynthetic structure*, in all the American languages which have been examined, in which they resemble each other and differ from the ancient and modern languages of the elder continent, there is yet a large number of families of languages on our continent, which appear to be utterly destitute of resemblance with each other, as far as the vocabulary is concerned. This is even not unfrequently the case with tribes, who were found by the first settlers adjacent to each other. It is evident that, on the theory above alluded to, of an original plurality of the races of the human family, this difficulty would present itself in undiminished force ; and that it is no more difficult, on the theory of a common origin, to conceive of an entire dissimilarity between the languages respectively of the American and Asiatic continent, as produced by a non-intercourse and geographical separation of ten or twelve centuries, than to conceive of a like dissimilarity, between the different families of languages of the American tribes, which has disclosed itself on the examination of their vocabularies, as the effect of a similar cause. This difficulty, therefore, if

deemed decisive against an Asiatic origin of the American races, would go the length of requiring an original creation for every family of languages ; a proposition too extravagant to be discussed.

The address before us passes from the consideration of the ancient inhabitants of the valley of the Ohio, to that of the tribes, which were found there by the French and English settlers ; and it is the principal object of this, the main, portion of General Harrison's Discourse, to correct the prevalent opinion, that the confederacy of the Five Nations had subjugated the tribes, which formed the Illinois confederacy, and occupied the region between the Ohio and Mississippi. It is admitted on all hands, that the Five Nations, or, as they are called by the French writers, the Iroquois, were perhaps the most warlike, powerful, and successful family among the American Aborigines. Other races excelled them in numbers ; but, by acting in concert with each other on the platform of their simple pentarchy, they succeeded in subjugating and destroying tribes supposed to be much larger than themselves. From the earliest period when we become acquainted with them, we find them at war with their neighbours on the north and south, the east and the west. The name of Mohawk carried terror even into the heart of the English settlements in Massachusetts bay. The Hurons, (a tribe belonging, as appears from their language, to another division of the Iroquois stock, but not included by the French under that appellation, because at war with the Five Nations,) were conquered and greatly reduced in numbers to the north of Lake Erie, before the close of the seventeenth century. The Eries, who occupied the region which lies between the Lake of that name and the Ohio river, and now forms the western part of Pennsylvania and the eastern part of Ohio, were exterminated by this ferocious league at a still earlier period. To the south, they pushed their conquests into Georgia, and claimed the Tennessee river as the boundary of their dominion.

Such being the admitted extent of the conquests of the Five Nations, and such the known ascendancy of their arms, it was not unnatural, that the earlier writers, but partially acquainted with the interior geography of the continent, having no accurate ideas of the extent of the territory between the Ohio and the Mississippi, and hearing that the war parties of the

Iroquois had occasionally penetrated to the tribes bordering on the latter, might have been led to loose assertions, that the Mississippi was the boundary of their conquests on the west.

To this supposition General Harrison opposes the following considerations, of which our limits will permit us only a brief indication.

The first is, that the French were ignorant of the Mississippi, till its discovery by Father Marquette, in 1673. He took the route of Lake Michigan and the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and, having descended the Mississippi to the 33d degree of latitude, returned and passed up the Illinois river. Had the Iroquois subdued the confederacy of the Illinois tribes, and pushed their conquest to the Mississippi the preceding year, for such is the date assigned to this event, this fact could not have been unknown to the French colonial government, traders, and missionaries, and a much less circuitous route would have been prescribed to Marquette. The account, moreover, carries incongruity on its face, by assigning the conquest of the Illinois to the year 1672, while another portion of the same account represents the Twightwees as being conquered by the same formidable adversary in 1683. The Twightwees being the easternmost of the Miami nation, it is justly remarked by General Harrison, that the tradition would have been more probable, had it reversed the order of the events, and made the Twightwees the first victims of Iroquois encroachment.

Had such a conquest taken place, and such an extension been given to the territory of the Five Nations, there would have been abundant traces of it, in the French accounts. So far is this from being the fact, that we know from the same accounts, that, for nearly a hundred years after, that is, till the final disappearance of the French power from North America in 1763, all this region was in the occupation of tribes friendly to the French, and owing no allegiance to the Iroquois, who were generally in the English interest. In the frequent wars, which took place between the Iroquois and the western Indians, both before and after the establishment of the French among the latter, it is admitted that some of the eastern tribes of the former confederacy had greatly suffered, and that the present State of Ohio was almost deserted. The following, according to the view of General Harrison, was the position of the native population of the territory northwest of the Ohio, about the middle of the seventeenth century.

“ Ascending the lakes and leaving the Iroquois territory, the Wyandots or Hurons, presented themselves. A large portion of this nation were, at that time, north of lake Erie ; but the greater part occupied the country from the Miami Bay eastwardly, along what is now denominated the Western Reserve, and extending across the country southwardly, to the Ohio. Westward of this territory commenced that of the Miami nation, or rather confederacy, possessing a larger number of warriors, at that period, than could be furnished by any of the aboriginal nations of North America, before or since. Their territory embraced all of Ohio, west of the Scioto, — all of Indiana, and that part of Illinois, south of the Fox river and Wisconsin, on which frontier they were intermingled with the Kickapoos and some other small tribes. Of this immense territory, the most beautiful portion was unoccupied. Numerous villages were to be found on the Scioto and the head waters of the two Miamis, of the Ohio. On the Miami of the Lake, and its southern tributaries, and throughout the whole course of the Wabash, at least as low as Chippecoke, (the town of Brush Wood,) now Vincennes. But the beautiful Ohio rolled its ‘amber tide’ until it payed its tribute to the Father of Waters, through an unbroken solitude. At that time, before, and for a century after, its banks were without a town or a village, or even a single cottage, the curling smoke of whose chimney would give the promise of comfort and refreshment to a weary traveller.” — pp. 22, 23.

After alluding to the singular and ignominious subjection of the Delawares by the Iroquois, and the conquest and dispersion of the Wyandots or Hurons, an event which the French authors place in the middle of the seventeenth century, but which General Harrison is inclined to bring down to a later period, he observes, that the Five Nations took this occasion to penetrate into Ohio, and that, either at this time or at a later period, they advanced as far west as Sandusky. He denies, however, that there is any tradition among the Miamis, of their ever having been conquered by the Iroquois, and remarks that at the treaty of Greenville there was no allusion to any claim on the part of the Five Nations to any right of property in the soil, or jurisdiction over the territory, of the Miamis.

In the Discourse of Dewitt Clinton before the New York Historical Society, where the extensive conquests of the Five Nations are painted in strong colors, after stating that the date of these conquests is uncertain, he says, “ The Illinois fled to the westward, after being attacked by the confederates, and did not return until a general peace ; and were permitted, in

1760, by the confederates, to settle in the country between the Wabash and the Scioto rivers.* Pownall's "Topographical Description" is given as the authority for this statement; and, on turning to Pownall, † we find he asserts it on the authority of "Captain Gordon's journal," who, instead of 1760, uses the expression "sixteen years ago." Whether Captain Gordon's journal was written in 1774, we do not know. We rather suppose, that Governor Clinton inadvertently took the statement to be that of Pownall himself, whose "Topographical Description" was written in 1775. But it is incredible, that the Five Nations claimed a right to dispose of the territory between the Wabash and Scioto as late as the middle of the last century, and that the tribes of the great western league were settled there, at so recent a period, by *their* permission. As the Indians of the Five Nations were careful to inform General Wayne of their ancient conquest of the Delawares, and as any claim adverse to the Miamis was likely to be viewed with favor by the United States, at the treaty of Greenville, great importance is justly attached by General Harrison to the circumstance, that no such claim was then alluded to. Though the Five Nations were not a party to the treaty of Greenville, there were those present who would gladly have revived such a tradition, to the disadvantage of the Miamis, had any such tradition then existed. We regard this consideration as of a decisive character.

The following statements are also entitled to great weight, and point to the same conclusion.

"The French had establishments in the Illinois country in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and, upon the authority of the learned and Rev. Dr. Bruté, present bishop of Vincennes, Mr. Butler, in his recent History of Kentucky, asserts that Vincennes was a missionary post, so early as the year 1700. At that period the Miami nation is represented by all French accounts as very numerous, and in the undisputed possession of all the country I have claimed for them. I have myself seen a very old and respectable citizen of St. Louis, who recollected when the five tribes of the nation, who went under the appellation of Illinois tribes, could bring into the field four thousand warriors; and yet they did not compose the strength of the nation, which was to be found strung along the banks of the Wabash and its tributary streams, and no doubt far into Ohio.

* Dewitt Clinton's *Historical Discourse*, p. 28.

† *Ibid.*, p. 42.

In the year 1734, M. De Vincennes, a captain in the French army, found them in possession of the whole of the Wabash, and their principal town occupying the site of Fort Wayne, which was actually the key of the country below. This officer was the first Frenchman who followed the route of the Miami of the Lake, and the Wabash, in passing from Canada to their western settlements ; and, in doing so at this time, throws some light upon the chronology of some of the events to which I have referred. Long before this period, the French must have known of the shorter and easier route, and no reason can be assigned for their having never used it, but from its being the seat of war, on some portion of it, which rendered it unsafe. This war I suppose to be that between the Wyandots and Iroquois ; and, although I would fix its termination earlier by some years than the expedition of De Vincennes, yet, being an experiment, it is probable that it required some time to ascertain its entire safety ; nor is it at all impossible, that the Tiwictewees (always the most eastern of the Miami tribes) were not upon the most friendly terms with the Iroquois. Indeed, the probability is, that there was war between them, but not of a decisive character, and if any conquest were made, or any part of the territory of the Miamis conquered, it must have been of trifling extent ; if victories had been gained, their effects were evanescent, and of no use to the conquerors. De Vincennes, in 1734, found them (the Miamis) in the possession of the entire Wabash ; and, in 1751, the Tiwictewees were visited at their towns, on the Scioto, one hundred and fifty miles from the mouth, by Mr. Gist, of Virginia, whose Journal has been lately published by Mr. Sparks, amongst the Washington papers. Mr. Gist remarks, that they were there ‘in amity with the Six Nations,’ and adds, that they ‘appeared to him to be a very superior people’ to their supposed conquerors. Amongst the inconsistencies to be found in the declaration of those who support the pretensions of the Iroquois on this side of the Ohio, I shall at this time mention but one. After broadly asserting the claim of conquest to the Mississippi, it seems, that, in 1781, Colonel Croghan, who is represented to have been an agent with the Iroquois for the thirty years preceding, limited their right ‘on the southeast side of the Ohio, to the Cherokee (Tennessee) river, and to the Big Miami, a stony river on the northwest side.’ Even this reduced claim to the territory within one State, will not be admitted ; as it has been shown, that the Tiwictewees were in full possession of the Scioto, upwards of one hundred miles above the Miami, where they were visited by Mr. Gist, and presented nothing to indicate a conquered people.” — pp. 28, 29.

General Harrison is strongly inclined to the opinion, that the idea of remote and extensive conquests is inconsistent with that want of military discipline and organization, which existed on the part of the Iroquois, however distinguished they might be as savage warriors.

“ But, setting aside all that has been advanced adverse to the claims of the Six Nations to be the extensive conquerors that they have so long been considered, there are, I think, insuperable arguments to be found against it, drawn from the nature of man in every age, and from the state in which they were at that period. They have been compared to the Romans, — but in what did the resemblance consist ? Like that celebrated people they might have been ambitious of extending their influence, and, like them, constant in adhering to a course of policy adapted to secure it. But there the parallel must end. The ingredient in the composition of a Roman army, to which all their conquests are justly attributed, they did not, and in the state of society to which they were advanced, they could not possess. I allude to that bond by which an army of many thousands are brought to a harmony and unity of action, as if they were possessed of but one spirit and one mind. Without this, no distant foreign conquests ever have been or ever can be made. In every considerable collection of men in arms, in every state of society, the elements of faction, disunion, and final dissolution are always to be found. If the warriors of the Iroquois did not possess this spirit in a superior degree; they greatly differ from the kindred tribes of this country, with whom I have been acquainted. To have conquered the numerous tribes between their frontier and the Mississippi, in the short period assigned, an army of many thousands would have been requisite. How would an army of that size be supported ? The game of the forest flies before the march of an army, and the state in which these Indians were at that time, being without beasts of burden (and having a natural horror of exercising that quality of the Roman soldiers themselves), they would be unable to apply the superabundance of one day to the wants of another. The power to move men in masses, to be efficient, is one of the highest evidences of civilization. The manner of making war amongst the North American Indians was totally different. They endeavoured to *wear away* their enemy, by surprising and butchering, now a family, less frequently a hunting camp, but rarely a village. If the hostile parties were in juxtaposition, as the Sacs and Foxes and the Illinois Miamis, a few years would determine the contest. But if they were separated by a large tract of un-

occupied territory, as the northwest and southern Indians, ages might pass over without any thing decisive being effected." — pp. 34, 35.

The residue of this interesting Discourse is occupied with a condensed sketch of the history of the Indian tribes, in the territory northwest of the Ohio, to the present day. It is a melancholy picture. Till the peace of 1763, the Iroquois or Five Nations on the one side, and the northwestern tribes on the other, were respectively employed and instigated by the French and English, as instruments of mutual annoyance and dissolution. By that treaty, the French interest on the continent was extinguished, at least, as far as it depended on the action of the Canadian government. It may however well be supposed, that a powerful influence, adverse to the Anglo-American colonies, was exercised by the numerous French missionary establishments in the West. It may fairly enough be presumed, that the policy pursued by the provincial government of British America, between the treaty of 1783 and the surrender of the western posts, was substantially imitated from that, which had been adopted by the French between the Seven Years' War and the Revolution. Whether this be true or not, it is certain, in point of fact, that hostilities against the British colonies were continued, on the part of the French Indians, for a year after the peace of 1763. Drafts were requested of the New England militia, to march for the defence of Michilimackinac; an expedition which, considering the state of the internal communications of the country at that time, was no doubt considered as formidable, as a march at the present day from the Atlantic coast to the mouths of the Columbia river. Michilimackinac and many other posts were surprised and captured by Pontiac, and a similar fate had nearly overtaken Detroit. But a treaty of peace, under the mediation of the Six Nations, was at length concluded.

"It was not, however," says General Harison, "kept with good faith by the Indians, who continued to commit occasional depredations upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, throughout the ten following years. In the year 1774, a grand expedition, under the command of the titled Governor of Virginia (Lord Dunmore) against the Indians of Ohio, resulted in the celebrated battle of Kenhawa by the left wing of the army, whilst that under the immediate orders of the Governor penetrated to within a short distance of the Shawanees town on the

Scioto, where a precipitate treaty was concluded, and the Governor hastened to his capital, to provide against a storm of a different character ; of the approach of which he had seen evidences not to be misapprehended.

“ In the year 1775, Great Britain (determined to compel her colonies to submit to her arbitrary mandates, with that recklessness of means for which she has ever been remarkable, whenever a purpose of aggrandizement, or vengeance, was to be secured,) by the influence of the traders, by large donations, and larger promises, engaged all the northwestern Indians in her cause, with a view to the devastation of the frontiers. Attempts were made by Congress to avert this calamity, by convincing the Indians, that they had no interest in the quarrel, and that the wiser path, was to observe a perfect neutrality. Nothing can show the anxiety of Congress to effect this object in stronger colors, than the agreement entered into with the Delaware tribes, at a treaty concluded at Pittsburg, in 1778. By an article in that treaty, the United States proposed that a State should be formed, to be composed of the Delawares and other tribes, and contracted to admit them, when so formed, as one of the members of the Union. But this, as it might perhaps have been afterwards considered, enviable distinction, weighed but little in the eyes of the Indians, compared to the present advantages of arms and equipments, clothing and trinkets, which were profusely distributed by the agents of Great Britain.” — pp. 36, 37.

With the breaking out of the Revolution, in 1775, commenced an Indian war, which outlasted that with the mother country by twelve years, and for all that period not only obstructed the settlement of the territory northwest of the Ohio, but inflicted on the frontiers the heart-sickening cruelties of a savage warfare. Such was the fruit of the detention of the western posts ; and of the insidious policy of the Canadian government, in preventing an accommodation between the United States and the northwestern tribes. Much light has been thrown on this important and not well-understood chapter of our history, in the late valuable “*Life of Thayendanegea*,” by Colonel Stone. The papers of this celebrated Mohawk chieftain, placed at the disposition of his industrious biographer, have cleared up several doubtful points. With the other documents submitted to Colonel Stone’s inspection, among the papers of Brant, is a certified copy of the celebrated answer of Lord Dorchester to a speech of the Indians of the seven villages of Lower Canada, assembled at Quebec, as deputies

from all the nations who attended the great council of the Miamis in the year 1793. This speech, at the time, was believed to be authentic by General Washington and by Governor Clinton of New York, to whom a copy was sent by Washington, in order to the settlement of that point. Chief Justice Marshall pronounced it spurious, without stating the grounds of his judgment; and in this opinion he is followed by Mr. Sparks. Its authenticity, however, was admitted at the time by the British minister, in a letter to the Secretary of State, who had made it the subject of a remonstrance. Colonel Stone seems to put the matter beyond doubt. "I have myself," says he, "transcribed the preceding extracts from a certified manuscript copy, discovered among the papers of Joseph Brant, in my possession." *

Few events in the history of the country have exercised a more powerful influence on its progress, than the victory of General Wayne over the combined forces of the northwestern confederacy, on the 20th of August, 1794. This event, followed as it was by the treaty of Greenville, threw open the floodgates of emigration into the territory beyond the Ohio. The modesty of General Harrison has not only led him to suppress all mention of the fact, that he was himself, as an aid of the commander-in-chief, among the foremost in the dangers of that decisive conflict; — that he was even present in the battle could not be gathered from his brief allusion to it. He confines himself exclusively to a tribute of well-deserved commendation of the commanding General. The tribes, united in the war, which was happily brought to a close by this conflict, were the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanoes, Chippewas, Ottowas, Potowatomies, and Miamis.

"The abovementioned tribes," says General Harrison, "could not have brought into the field more than three thousand warriors at any time, during the ten years preceding the treaty of Greenville; although, a few years before, the Miamis alone could have furnished more than that number. The constant war with our frontier, had deprived them of many of their warriors; but the ravages of the smallpox were the principal cause of this great decrease of their numbers. They composed, however, a body of the finest light troops in the world.

* Stone's *Life of Thayendanegea*, Vol. II. p. 369. — Marshall's *Life of Washington*, Vol. V. p. 535. — Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, Vol. X. p. 394. — Wait's *American State Papers*, Vol. III. p. 60, 3d edition.

And, had they been under an efficient system of discipline, or possessed enterprise equal to their valor, the settlement of the country would have been attended with much greater difficulty than was encountered in accomplishing it, and their final subjugation delayed for some years. The Wyandots, the leading tribe of the confederacy, and that to whose custody the great calumet, the symbol of their union, was intrusted, had authority to call a council of the chiefs of the several tribes, to consult upon their affairs. But there was no mode of enforcing their decision, and the execution of any plan of operations, that might have been determined on, depended entirely upon the good pleasure of those who were to execute it. At one time it was thought, indeed, that they had adopted the very judicious plan of cutting off the convoys of the army, by a constant succession of detachments. This was, however, soon abandoned. And under the influence of the confidence which they had acquired, as well in their valor as their tactics, from their repeated success, they again determined to commit the fate of themselves and their country to the issue of a general battle. This was all that was wanted by the American commander. By this fatal determination, they had already prepared the wreath of laurels which was to adorn his brow by their complete and total discomfiture. The tactics which had been adopted for the American Legion, had been devised with a reference to all the subtilties, which those of the Indians were well known to possess. It united the apparently opposite qualities of compactness and flexibility, and a facility of expansion under any circumstances, and in any situation, which rendered utterly abortive the peculiar tact of the Indians in assailing the flanks of their adversaries." — pp. 39, 40.

General Harrison closes his interesting *Discourse* with a brief sketch of the general traits of character of the tribes now almost extinct, whose history he has related. He gives to the Wyandots the unquestioned preference on the score of bravery. With the other tribes, flight in battle, when occasioned by unexpected resistance and obstacles, brought with it no disgrace. It was rather a part of the Indian strategy; a manifestation of the peculiar temperament of most of the Indian tribes, which led them, instead of pressing fortune under adverse circumstances, to wait patiently for a change. With the Wyandots it was otherwise. Their young men were taught to consider as disgraceful any thing that looked like acknowledging the superiority of an enemy. In the battle of the Rapids of the Miami, in which the confederated tribes were

broken by General Wayne, of thirteen chiefs of the Wyandots one only survived, and he badly wounded. The following anecdote illustrates this trait in their character.

“ When General Wayne assumed the position of Greenville, in 1793, he sent for Captain Wells, who commanded a company of scouts, and told him, that ‘ he wished him to go to Sandusky and take a prisoner, for the purpose of obtaining information.’ Wells (who, having been taken from Kentucky when a boy, and brought up amongst the Indians, was perfectly acquainted with their character) answered, that ‘ he could take a prisoner, but not from Sandusky.’ ‘ And why not from Sandusky ? ’ said the General. ‘ Because,’ answered the Captain, ‘ there are only Wyandots there.’ ‘ Well, why will not Wyandots do ? ’ ‘ For the best of reasons,’ said Wells, ‘ because Wyandots will not be taken alive.’ ” — p. 51.

We are left by our author to learn the last important chapter in the history of most of the Indian tribes, once conspicuous in the valley of the Ohio, from other pens than his own. Beyond a brief allusion, in the concluding paragraphs of the Discourse, to the conduct of the celebrated chieftain Tecumthè, at the council of Vincennes, in 1810, there is no reference to those momentous events and struggles, in which General Harrison himself performed the most conspicuous part. This celebrated Indian chieftain, who may with propriety be placed by the historian on the same page with King Philip, Pontiac, and Brant, was the son of a Shawanoe father and Cherokee mother, a descent which admirably adapted him to achieve that project, which, to some extent, is supposed to have been contemplated by the other eminent Indian chieftains whom we have named, that of bringing all the Indian tribes into one grand confederacy. This policy, as far as it extended, was the secret of the strength of the Five Nations. It is even affecting to hear these poor children of nature, by their speaker Canassatego, at the council of Lancaster, in 1744, recommending *Union* to the American colonies. At the session of the FOURTH OF JULY of that year, the eloquent Onondago warrior used this remarkable language ;

“ We have one thing further to say, and that is, we heartily recommend union and good agreement between you and your brethren. Never disagree, but preserve a strict friendship for each other, and thereby you, as well as we, will become the stronger.

“ Our wise forefathers established union and amity between the Five Nations ; this has made us formidable ; this has given us great weight and authority with our neighbouring nations.

“ We are a powerful confederacy ; and, by your observing the same methods which our wise forefathers have taken, you will acquire fresh strength and power ; therefore, whatsoever befalls you, never fall out with each other.” *

If this is the language of barbarism, what is civilization !

While we write these lines, the intelligence reaches us, that, in virtue, rather let us say *by force*, of one of those monstrous impositions called Indian treaties, negotiated, in the present instance, against the wishes of fourteen fifteenths of those whose lands it cedes, the last remnant of those sagacious and formidable tribes, whose representative, in 1744, uttered these counsels of friendship and wisdom, are about to be driven from their last foothold in New York, and transported to a “ new home ” west of the States of Arkansas and Missouri. Whatever doubts may rest on the question discussed in the address before us, whether the victorious arms of the Five Nations were ever pushed to the Mississippi, no doubt, unhappily, will be left to the future historian, that they are now to be driven across that river, by their civilized, humane, and Christian neighbours ; and this by force of a treaty, of which the President of the United States remarks, in communicating it to Congress, “ that improper means have been employed to obtain the assent of the Seneca chiefs, there is too much reason to believe.” That their condition will be improved by the removal is an opinion, we know, entertained by persons of integrity and honor, and we devoutly hope that it may be realized. But this opinion, however confidently entertained, and however likely to be justified by the result, furnishes no apology, so long as their right to occupy their reservations is admitted, for forcing them to quit their homes, under the forms of a mock treaty, concluded against the wishes, however unenlightened or misguided, of a great majority of the tribe.

* Colden's *History of the Five Nations* ; in the Papers annexed, p. 149.